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# IRAQI REVIEW

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## NASSER'S NEW GAME

### GREETINGS TO THE ALGERIAN PEOPLE



# VICTORY FOR THE ALGERIAN PEOPLE

Ittihad al-Shaab editorial 20 September 1959

**Y**ESTERDAY, the 19th of September, the Arabs and the whole world received the first anniversary of the foundation of the Algerian Government which was formed in circumstances of holy patriotic struggle, and in circumstances when the Algerian people exercised the highest forms of struggle for forcing their national independence and getting rid of the yoke of colonialism.

The formation of the Free Algerian Republic was an announcement to the determination of the valiant Algerians for accomplishing their just demand of national independence and enjoying the life under a liberated, progressive democratic society.

The announcement of this Free Government led to the transformation of the revolutionary Algerian struggle from the local level to the international level. It added to that struggle more legality and greater seriousness thus facilitating the extension of

material assistance and moral backing to the Algerian spokesmen. Today it is leading the National Liberation movement and also facilitated the gathering of the movement of the Algerian people and the prominence of its representative and spokesman. Today it is leading the National Liberation Army which is fighting under unified command.

The Algerian revolution is an important wing of the Arab liberation struggle which is aiming at full liberation. It is an indivisible part of the anti-imperialist popular movement in the whole world. The Algerian revolution and the Algerian Government occupy a worth position in the Iraqi Republic. Our patriotic Government under the leadership of Premier Abdul Karim Qassim, was the first Government to recognise the Algerian Government, it allocated in the budget the sum of two million Iraqi Dinars, supplied it with arms and took the initiative to boycott France. The visit of Farahat Abbas the President of the Algerian Government and the joint communique which was issued at the end of the visit was a brilliant manifestation and a good model for Arab solidarity for the victory of liberated Arab nationalism.

In as much as the brotherly stand of Republican Iraq towards the Algerian revolution and its just cause expresses a living example of serious solidarity between the Arab brothers, the stand of the Egyptian rulers from this question expresses a living example of opportunism and compromise with the imperialists the enemies of Algeria, Arabism and all mankind. At a time when Iraqi boycotts aggressive France, the rulers of Egypt restore their relations with her. At a time when Iraq called upon all the Arab countries to boycott France economically, the Egyptian Government stood against that serious proposal and against the bold and earnest stand of Iraq. It forges ahead not only in compromising with French imperialism, but also in compromising all imperialist circles foremost among whom the U.S. and Britain. As for republican Iraq, it marches in the vanguard in supporting Algeria and its heroic people.

We greet the Algerian Government, we greet in her person the brother Algerian people who are waging their holy war against world imperialism, its pacts and blocks. We hope that the Algerian Government will have in its second year of life new victories on both military and political fields and particularly victory over the imperialist de Gaulle plan.

## COMMENT

# Nasser's New Game

**N**ASSER is always on the move. He seldom keep calm or still even for a brief rest. After having been exposed as a master conspirator against democracy in Iraq and the Arab world, it was hoped that he will learn the lessons of it all and keep clear of the Iraqi Republic. He became furious; he insulted almost every patriot in Iraq from the Premier to the ordinary people. His designs were in ruin, his empire dreams almost frustrated and his friends were exposed and isolated by his own actions.

But Nasser, it seems, never learns anything; instead he is organising one of the broadest and most dangerous campaigns against the Iraqi people and Government. For this Nasser is using all the means that remained at his disposal. The New York Times Correspondent in Cairo reported to his paper on Sep. 6th that there was a new swing in the Arab League against Iraq, adding, "In this swing the Arab League, through its able and energetic Secretary General, Mohammad Abdul Khalik Hassouna has been instrumental."

He was the intermediary in the talks that led recently to restored diplomatic relations between Jordan and the U.A.R. Informed sources say that Hassouna heard Jordan's King Hussein restate his intention to claim the throne of a new Iraq Monarchy and that President Nasser gave Hassouna his promise not to oppose Hussein in such an attempt.

In other words Nasser and Hussain decided that the Iraqi Republic should go to the dogs and that the point they had to discuss through the "good offices" of Hassouna is who would take over after that. Hussain wants a "new monarchy" as he is the "legitimate heir" for the "vacant throne" in Baghdad. Nasser, for the sake of "unity" did not oppose Hussain's claim since they are agreed on the main thing.

However, Nasser seems to have other calculations. The New York Times which sympathises with his views stated that "President Nasser has revived the League to the point where it can help him apply propaganda and perhaps economic pressure on Premier Qassim to come over to the Arab Nationalist cause, or if Premier Qassim, topples, the League 'brothers' may now be more likely to join hands in establishing an Arab nationalist regime in Iraq."

This new game of Nasser is not that new, it is the worn out policy of surrender or else.

American spokesmen did not hide their delight at this "new" policy of Nasser. Senator J.W. Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee "noted that President Nasser had resumed diplomatic relations with Jordan and was rea-

ching a settlement with Britain, France and the Netherlands. 'Why not encourage them a little?' He remarked of the Arab states and peoples in their growing stability" (New York Times—Aug. 31st.).

So Nasser has the backing of other powerful offices in his 'game'.

**B**UT there are, perhaps, other motivations behind Nasser's campaign. He is encountering growing difficulties in Egyptianising Syria. He is at the same time trying to direct the increasing dissatisfaction of the Syrian people against the Baathists whom he never trusted. He has closed the Baath mouthpiece "Al-Jamahir", fired the Baathist Minister of Guidance Mr. Riyadh el-Maliki, and sent his vice-President Akram el-Hourani on a "home-leave".

The Baathists, though resent playing the role of a scapegoat, have no choice but to make further concessions as was shown in their recent Conference.

But this created a widening split between Nasser and the Baath, and it tended to weaken the former shaky hold on Syria.

Nasser is trying, it appears, to solve his difficulties by a 'new game' in Iraq, with Washington's blessing.

There is nothing really new about this 'game' of Nasser except perhaps its on wider scale than have been hitherto. And there is nothing to show that it will have a better fate than his previous games.

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# The Agrarian Revolution in Iraq

by Mohamed Hussain Abu al-Iss Part IV

## 5 — The Law in Application.

NO much for the Law and all its shortcomings. But, as we said before, it was a progressive step at the time of its promulgation due to the circumstances prevailing then. Have the landlords, and their friends in the government apparatus accepted this law however? Have they given up their attempts to hinder and obstruct its implementation? Of course not.

They have tried by all means to delay its implementation (e.g. they suggested tying the requisition of land to the technical limitations of the government apparatus in the survey and distribution of land. This means that the full implementation of the law will require forty years). They also attempted to alter the law or to have some amendments added to it that would change it and annul some important points in it. They strive to double the ceiling on landownership or to have the landlords' children given areas equal to the maximum limit; but they failed in these attempts. Then they succeeded in having the Higher Committee take a resolution endorsing the sales and purchases unregistered at the Directorate of Tapu (Land Registration) before July 14th; in this way they were able to smuggle large areas of land. They also were able to get an amendment to the Settlement Law (the imperialist feudal law) which allows a new robbery of Miri land within the limit of the maximum land ownership. This means allowing the Settlement Committee in the Republican era — the era of the agrarian revolution — to grant the feudalists state land sufficient for their rural families.

The above mentioned amendment permitted the granting free of charge to each of the landlords in Amarah 200 dunams of rich rice cultivated Miri land and the granting to each of their agents an area of 100 dunams even though these lands and their agents did not actually own any land according to the laws of the old era. Whilst no peasant in Amarah received more than 8 dunams ("land to be rented and not acquired"). This new generosity towards the landlords means depriving 10,000 rural families in Amarah of the land they are entitled to by the Agrarian Reforms Law, leaving them in poverty and misery and at the mercy of the friends of Faisal and Nuri es-Said.

The reactionaries have never ceased striving to hinder the agrarian reform nor fighting the peasant revolutionary movement with all their might. They try to win sympathy for the fate of the landlords who robbed the peasants for tens of years and demand, in the name of justice and equality, the restoration of their overthrown system. They

do not think for one moment that this justice and equality will have to include the toiling peasant families; if the peasants in Amarah can live on 8 dunams, why should these gentlemen demand 800 dunams for the landlords? i.e. confiscating lands that can be given to 15 peasants for each landlord. What distinguishes these gentlemen? Is it his loyalty to the republic or his service to the community? Or could it be that these people are grieving about the landlords and want to preserve them and their extinct regime as pillars for conspiring against the democratic republican system in the rural areas.

The attempts of the reactionaries against the agrarian reform have been many and varied. Thus all the conspiracies planned against our republic aimed among other things, at stopping this reform and preserving the feudal system, the landlords in the rural areas. This was clear in both al-Gailani and al-Shawaf conspiracies in which all the big landlords in Iraq participated. Just as our revolution is in essence a peasant revolution, so the conspiracies against it are imperialist feudalist conspiracies aiming at destroying all the gains of our revolution. A large number of the landlords' friends were removed from the government as a result of their continuous conspiring and were unmasked as plotting against the safety of the republic. It became clear that the gains achieved by the landlords in obstructing the ARL were only the result of the efforts of these conspiring reactionary elements and of the neglectfulness of some loyal patriots; these conspiracies have also confirmed the unwisdom of the policy of leniency towards the enemies of the Republic (the feudalists and their hirlings); they have shown that raising the ceiling and leaving some of the landlords' privileges in the countryside did not lead them to be loyal to the Republic; on the contrary it led them to carry arms against it.

On the other hand, our national democratic revolution has developed and hundreds of thousands of peasants joined its ranks and dealt a major blow to the feudal system; the Peasants' Associations of which few were established before July 14th Revolution, grew until this movement embraced the whole Iraqi countryside. The peasant could no longer endure the feudalist traitors in their midst and hence the latter fled from the insurgent peasants who were enthusiastic about safeguarding their democratic Republic. Adhering to the ceiling fixed in the present law and forcing the peasants to accept the feudal system once again, has become a reactionary demand not in conformity with the path followed by our revolution and the rise of the tide of the peasant movement. Any patriot advocating that demand will only win the hatred and contempt of the peasants.

A struggle went on between our people, who are defending their republic and democracy, and the Anglo-American imperialists, their feudal agents, the Egyptian rulers and others who wanted to impose on us an imperialist feudalist system. Our Republic and government raised the banner of the Arab Liberation struggle; the struggle against imperialism and its stooge — feudalism. It has become a guiding light for all the Arab peoples in this long struggle. There is no sense any more in preserving the limitations of the ARL; these limitations and privileges given to the landlords, in the Egyptian manner, by the conspiring traitors. The Republic should bring out the democratic content of our liberation movement which is comprehensive agrarian reform, in order to show the right side of our liberal democratic revolution; and in order to make it a centre of attraction for all the Arab peoples of whom the peasants form an overwhelming majority and in order to liberate them to a large extent from the feudalist tyranny after the development of these peoples.

## 6—The Desired Amendment in the Law

THE development of the Revolution dictates a reconsideration of the law in order to make it conform more to the interests of the peasants and of our democratic Republic. What is then the desired amendment? Sayid Zaki Khairi submitted a report to the Committee of Agrarian Reform at the beginning 1958 i.e. before the promulgation of the law, in which he presented some recommendations about the agrarian reform; the report said:

Comprehensive radical reform means 'the land for its tiller', i.e. every peasant holds the land which he actually cultivates at present or is capable of cultivating ..., in other words the land should not remain as a means of exploiting the work of others nor the peasant be forced to hire himself to others; it means the abolition of large land ownership and the land-rent based on this ownership. There is no doubt that this is what every toiling peasant quite rightly desires; this is also a requirement of our new democratic national republic regime and is in full agreement with the interests of the national economy."

The report presented a radical solution that conforms with these conditions and which fixes the ceiling at 400 dunam of artificially irrigated land or the equivalent of this area of other types of lands.

The slogan "the land for its tiller" or the abolition of all peasants is the slogan of the revolution in its present stage and should be accomplished by the Revolution at this stage; "the necessary requirements for its realisation are available". The existence of a peasant movement that embraces hundreds of thousands of peasants, and of a revolutionary democratic government, the existence of wide revolutionary organisations for the masses of the people,

the watchfulness of the enemies of the revolution with their continuous plotting and their reliance on the landlords and their friends inside the country, the need to destroy the pillars of imperialism, to release the masses of the peasantry from the fetters of enslavement and transform them into a bastion against the enemies; all these make the realisation of a comprehensive agrarian reform possible and necessary.

This slogan is not an exclusively communist slogan; the French revolution adhered to it before the appearance of Marxism and the birth of Marx. Sun Yat-sen, the leader of the democratic bourgeois revolution in China, believed in it and he was not a communist. A large number of non-communist thinkers believe in the necessity of the liberation of all peasants from exploitation.

Realising this slogan does in no way mean realising socialism. It is within the heart of the democratic system that we desire for our Republic and one of the major tasks of the democratic bourgeois revolution; it does not touch the economic basis of capitalism; the realisation of this slogan destroys the old productive relations based on the monopoly of the land and its utilisation as a means of exploiting others; it diverts national capital towards industry and raises the peasants' purchasing power and hence it makes possible the growth of national industry and facilitates the development of our national economy.

In order to realise this solution we can, in the light of the experiences of agrarian reform and the development of the peasant movement take the following primary steps:

1—Confiscation of the land of the traitors among the landlords and landowners and the distribution of this land to the peasants without leaving anything to the landlords whose plotting against the republic is proved; in this way large areas will be available for immediate distribution.

2—Lowering the ceiling on the rest of the lands —of all types and especially rice cultivated land and orchards so that the agrarian reform becomes comprehensive.

3—Reliance by the government, in solving the land problem, primary on the Peasants' Associations without which, as past experience shows, it is impossible to realise a radical solution of the land question; extending the experience of Amara and Kut by requisitioning the lands and renting them to the peasants, through the Associations in order to exploit the land until the completion of the technical part of its distribution.

4—Abolition of the Settlement Law with all its amendments as well as all the acts and resolutions contrary to the revolutionary line in the land question.

(Continued on Page 7).



# Democracy Between Two Laws for the Peasants' Associations

The following is editorial of Ittihad al-Shaab, Friday, Sept. 18, 1959.

THE peasants associations existed under the extinct imperialist royal regime, naturally without being legally recognised. They fought at the time for the accomplishment of the legitimate demands of the peasants and played an honouring role, small as they were, in safeguarding the Republic since its birth on the 14th of July. During the first ten months of the Republican era, and particularly after the crushing of Shawaf's mutiny, the associations grew greatly as a result of the great flow in the peasant and national movement at that time. On many occasions the simple peasants organised their associations by themselves even without the assistance of the experienced fighters. That is an evidence for the deep revolutionary consciousness which swept Iraq's country-side in that revolutionary period, as it indicates the genuine democracy—revolutionary democracy which penetrated the consciousness of our people.

LAST April a general congress sprang from the peasants associations and was held in Baghdad under the patronage of the faithful son of the people Premier Qassim. It was attended by the representatives of the peasants associations from all over Iraq, North, South, East and West. This congress gave birth to the general federation of peasants associations in the Iraqi Republic. Our patriotic Government responded to the desires of the people and this issued a law for the federation. This law was among the greatest achievements of our patriotic Revolution and a model for democracy in society like ours. The law authorised the general federation to give licences for the peasants associations. The law was received with satisfaction and rejoiced by most of the democrats regarding it a deep response between the patriotic Government and the upsurge of the people. But some of our patriotic brothers were not so comforted about this. Their private point of view in regards with the upsurge of the people was that they considered it domination, a domination of special type and even "Communist domination". They used to regard every democratic gain for the people and the revolution as a narrow "party gain". They pretended with being above the narrow party gains. At the beginning they took a stand of passivity and panic towards the peasants movement and the organisation of the peasant associations, the least which could be said about that stand is that of indifference. But the momentum of the peasants movement which rose like a gigantic flood, during last spring, had attracted them to the arena with the rest of the patriotic forces and thus they started organising some peasants

associations. In this competition among the patriotic forces and because of the absence of the united front, some regrettable incidents took place between some patriotic forces and others which was possible and necessary to handle in a spirit of national brotherhood and on the basis of common national interest.

We do not know what is the guilt of the Communists if their activity and self-devotion for defending the peasants interests had won for them their confidence. Even though, the federation, of the peasants associations and the rest of peasants associations never were monopoly for the Communists nor were their executive or administrative committees. The Communists were the most keen, and particularly in this field, on joint list on the basis of the united front among all the patriotic forces. The founding committee of the peasants federation was not a monopoly for one party, or one orientation, because one third of its members were members of the national democratic party, and this was a great tolerance in comparison to the balance of forces in the peasants movement and the peasants organisations. But nevertheless this tolerance did not satisfy some of our patriotic brothers. From the start they launched a concentrated campaign on the federation of peasants associations regarding it as a narrow and biased party organisation. The Press campaign reached the extent of accusing the federation of exercising powers which are of the authority of the Government and of being biased in exercising these powers. When the Minister of Agricultural Reform replied to these claims, his reply was met with share commentary which failed to give evidence or proofs and was based on sporadic insignificant incidents which has no relation with the federation and which the federation had no power upon them firstly because it was not a Governmental authority, and secondly because only four months passed on its existence during which it was occupied with licensing the associations. The newspapers of some of our brother patriots went on publishing unfounded or insignificant complaints not only against the peasants federation but also against the Minister of Agrarian Reform although he only practiced this post two months ago and thus he cannot be blamed himself for the stumbling of the implementation of the Agrarian Reform Law and the rest of the peasantry affairs. When his excellency replied to those allegations and refuted them on the basis of the official investigation which he conducted, he was faced with non-objective spirit by our patriotic brothers themselves.

That was not the worst in the disagreement among the patriotic forces in relation with the peasants

associations and their general federation. Our brothers who filled the world with their protestations on narrow partnership and bias, etc., encouraged in their Press the split of the peasants movement. Their members had boycotted the meetings of the founding committee whose dates were announced in advance in the Press. They set up for themselves another headquarter and actually formed another federation of peasants association which practiced in contradiction to the law the same powers of the legal federation by granting licences and identity cards, at time when the general federation was working day and night to finish licensing the associations which have full legal conditions regardless of the political colour of its members and founders. It licensed within four months only more than 2,700 associations of various trends and tendencies among which there were many that have been licensed afterwards by the dissident federation which licensed 1,500 associations. Nevertheless, it was possible and necessary till now to restore the unity of the peasants movement and then the unity of the patriotic forces if sufficient keenness among all was shown. Instead of that the campaign of our brothers is continuing against the general federation even after the promulgation of the new law which replaced the law of the federation.

It is very strange that our brothers regard the new law "more democratic than its predecessor". Why, is it because that the peasants associations and federations will be under the control of the administrative authorities? The same authorities which were not touched by radical purge and which even our brothers themselves demanded their purge. The same authorities which were never elected by the people and never are subjected to the choice or censorship of the people. Is this the more or greater democracy which our brothers have called for throughout their patriotic struggle? One finds it hard to believe what he hears or sees. The present associations and general federation are less democratic because they sprang from among the masses of five million peasants themselves, as for the future associations which will fall, in every step they take, under the control of the old administrative authorities, they are more democratic!! Let us cast aside the rest of criticisms to the new law of associations, because this amount is sufficient.

Let us ask every fair citizen on the extent of his conviction in the non-bias and being above the "narrow party" gains which are claimed by every group in our patriotic movement.

We have no ill-wish towards our brothers and do not wish them to abandon their original concepts in democracy whether in formulating a constitution for the state or a law for the peasants organisation. We only want to draw their attention to the drifts and slips. On our part, we have not been up to now, and will never be in the future, keen on narrow party gains as much as we are keen on the unity of ranks among all patriots and the solution of all disagreements through means of understanding.

## The Agrarian Revolution

(Continued from Page 5).

These are the main points that should be included in any amendment to the ARL which is an important step towards the liberation of all the peasants from the old-productive relations.

All patriots are asked to support the radical solution for the land problem and the progressive steps leading to it; for this is the demand of the peasants and all popular masses and it guarantees a sound development for our democratic republic.

The revolutionary peasants' movement under the leadership of its associations and General Union is making great forward steps and has registered wonderful victories in mobilising and organising the peasants for the defence of the Republic and their interests and for the land, "the cherished dream" of the peasants.

All the patriotic parties should support this victorious movement and strive to strengthen it and combat the tendencies hindering it. This movement, and the Peasants' Associations do not belong to any particular party; they are a mass movement aiming at achieving and defending the interests of the peasants.

The increasing influence of our Communist Party among the peasants is due to the fact that since its formation it took up and defended the peasant interests and put forward a revolutionary solution for which it has struggled. The peasant question is organically tied to our people's movement for the safeguarding of our Republic and guaranteeing its democratic development; its victory is a triumph for our people. Hence all those concerned for the independence of our Republic and guaranteeing its democratic development, should defend the peasant movement and strive to achieve its noble aims.

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## EDITORIALS OF THE WEEK

The following are some of the editorials that appeared in Ittihad al-Saab during the week.

Sunday, 13-9-1959

### The Fingers of the Oil Companies Move Against the People's Court.

THE People's Court, the weapon of the Revolution against the old and new traitors, occupies a prominent position among the establishments of the Revolution, among the Iraqi people and all patriotic Arabs.

This court has never pronounced a verdict unless based on facts and reliable evidence and has given the traitors every opportunity of defending themselves and even defying the people, their court and Government.

In addition, the People's Court with its Prosecution Body acted as a school for educating the public in the spirit of democracy, anti-imperialism and national unity. It was the breeze refreshing the people when the negative sides of the general political situation appeared as more prominent.

For all these reasons the People's Court became from the start the targets of imperialist falsifications and Nasser's slanders; these attacks were directed especially at the person of the President of the Court and the military Prosecutor. The same lies were repeated inside Iraq by imperialist and Nasser's agents who carried out their campaign in unison with their masters.

We all remember the mischievous questions asked by Western journalists especially those of Anthony Nutting, aiming at spreading doubts around the People's Court. It is not expected that the presence of such a democratic and revolutionary establishment, which has never deviated from the principles of the Revolution and the interests of the people, and which unmasked the foreign plots and interferences, would please the enemies of the Republic and the Oil Companies.

The People's Court is the pride and one of the major gains of the Revolution; its enemies are also the enemies of the Republic and its Government; it is not surprising therefore that the Premier should declare his full backing of the People's Court and the person of its President. Although the Premier has always taught the western journalists a severe lesson, the imperialists and their agents continue their campaign against the People's Court as part of their intrigues against our liberated Republic, by so doing they are interfering in the affairs of our country. It is natural therefore that we have confidence in the determination of the Republic and its Leader would due to the efforts made in preparing them.

Monday, 14-9-1959

### About the Statement of the Premier to the Indian Journalist:

#### New Emphasis on the Revolutionary Democratic Line of Our Republic

THE Premier's statements to the Indian journalist, Sangal (Assistant Editor of Link), stressed once more the Republic's liberalisation democratic policy and its determination to secure the building of a genuine democratic rule for the people. The Premier declared once again the ending of the Interim Period on 6th January next, when parties will be licensed and permanent constitution will be legislated. The Premier also expressed his estimation of loyal parties and all members of the people including the Communists and denounced discriminating between people.

Obviously this cannot please the imperialists and their collaborators for they realise that only the democratic way can guarantee the mobilisation of the forces of the people, consolidate their unity, bring out their creative potentialities and transform the country into a centre of attraction for all Arab and Middle Eastern peoples. Hence we are witnessing the imperialist and reactionary endeavours against democratic organisations and ideas of party and social organisation, in order to hinder the ending of the Interim Period.

The Leader, in his new statements, has repudiated the reactionary allegations and confirmed his determination to work for "granting full freedom to the people on the basis of a genuine democratic life" and stressed that all loyal parties serve the people and all differences among them can be overcome.

There is no doubt that the progress of the Revolution depends on the attainment of comprehensive national unity under the leadership of Abdul Karim Qassim. This unity, for which all patriots should strive, can and should include all anti-imperialist anti-feudalist elements including patriotic rightist nationalists.

The Leader's statements should act as an impetus for restoring national unity, in order to attain the requirements of a democratic rule, crush conspiracies and guarantee prosperity for all classes of the people. These statements were a blow to rank splitters and a rebuff to those who defy the People's Court and its President and try to interfere in the affairs of our Republic.

## EVENTS OF THE WEEK

### Kurdish Teachers' Conference

THE Iraqi Teachers' Conference, to discuss the educational affairs of Iraqi Kurdistan, was opened on September 13 in Shaqlawa, northern Iraq. The conference, attended by 300 teachers, is held in answer to a resolution taken by the extraordinary conference of the Teachers' Association held last month. The Conference inaugurated by the Mutasarrif of Arbil, was also attended by the Director General of Administration in the Ministry of Education and was greeted by the Teachers' Association, the General Students' Union, the Democratic Youth Federation and other democratic organisations. Greetings telegrams were sent in the name of the conference to the Premier, the Minister of Education and the President of the People's Court. Six committees were later formed; these were for studying the problems of: Kurdish language, Kurdish history, translation and publication, curricula and administration and combatting illiteracy. Among the recommendations submitted by these committees, and later by the conferees, to the Ministry of Education were: support of the Ministry's step in creating a Directorate General of Kurdish Education, holding a similar conference every year, the compilation of a new Kurdish dictionary and the history of Kurdish literature, the publication of a scientific, literary, social and cultural magazine. Other recommendation included the creation of a special branch at the Directorate of Kurdish Education to look after matters connected with translation and publications, the creation of a special college for Kurds and the teaching of Kurdish language in non-Kurdish schools and the founding of a museum for Kurdish antiquities.

### Good Will Delegation to China

THE Iraqi-Sino Friendship Society had extended invitations to Col. al-Mahdawi, the President of the People's Court, Col. Majid Amin, the Military Public Prosecutor and other notables and representatives of democratic organisations to visit China on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the proclamation of the Chinese People's Republic. The Iraqi delegation will leave Baghdad on September 22 and will spend six weeks in China returning home via Moscow. Col. al-Mahdawi has also been invited to attend the October Revolution celebrations.

### Writers' Conference

THE Iraqi Writers' Association will hold its first conference of Literature on December 10th on the subject of "Modern Iraqi Literature". The conference will hear and discuss four reports, one on each of the following subjects: the role of the Association in encouraging Iraqi literature, modern Iraqi poetry, the story in modern Iraqi literature and studies and critics in modern Iraqi literature. The following committees have been formed in order to prepare these reports: poetry, story and theatre, studies and criticism. It is expected that these reports will be of some importance due to the efforts made in preparing them.

### Publicity Centres

IN inter-departmental committee, to discuss the possibility of opening informations centres for Iraq in some European countries has been formed. The Committee comprises representatives from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of Guidance, the Directorate General of Exhibitions, Iraqi Airways, Dates Association, Grain Board, Federation of Industries and the Baghdad Chamber of Commerce. The centres will supply information on Iraq concerning industrial, agriculture and social development and will carry out some trade transactions. It has so far been decided to open such centres in London, Vienna, Beirut and Prague early next year.

### Mayor to Bucharest

THE Mayor of Baghdad accompanied by a member of the Baghdad Municipal Council have left for Bucharest for a week visit there. The visit is made in answer to an invitation extended by the Bucharest Municipal Council in order to attend the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the birth of Bucharest. While there, the Mayor will be given the opportunity to study the activities of the town and strengthen the bonds of friendship between the Iraqi and Rumania peoples in their struggle for World Peace.

### Women and National Struggle

THE League for the Defence of Women's Rights organised on September 16th a lecture given by Col. al-Mahdawi, President of the People's Court, on the subject of "Women and the National Struggle." The lecture, which was a part of the educational campaign organised by the LDWR, was attended by many official and public personalities as well as a large number of the public of both sexes. Al-Mahdawi, after reviewing the role played by Iraqi women in the national struggle before the Revolution, and the role played by Arab women in the Arab Liberation Movement, went on to speak about the activities of the Iraqi women in social and other fields after the Revolution and the opportunities open to them during the republican era.

### Education Delegation

THE Iraqi Education Delegation, comprising a number of professors in the Baghdad University, arrived in Leningrad on September 15th. The delegation will study the system followed in educational and training establishments in the Soviet Union. The members have visited many institutes, libraries and laboratories in Leningrad and later left for Tashkent.

### Algerian Students in Baghdad University

THE Ministry of Education has approved the admittance for this academic year of 38 Algerian students in Baghdad University to study at the expences of the Iraqi Republic. The Iraqi Republic has also approved the granting of scholarships abroad for another two Algerian students.



## MEANING OF REVOLUTION\*

MR. Abdul Fatah Ibrahim is the well-known Iraqi author of many works. He follows in his writings scientific arguments, as his two books, "On The Route To India" and "Introduction To Sociology" are proofs of this. These two works ranks high and were written at a time when not much scientific studies were made.

Mr. Abdul Fatah Ibrahim speaks of his new book and says: "It is a short summary of some of the aspects of the 14th July Revolution, in two parts: Introduction and Nature of Revolution of 14th July."

He appologises for the briefness in which many phases of 14th July revolution were discussed, due to shortage of time. Explaining the general type of the revolution, it was mentioned that "it is a constructive change, in its aims and the forces ruling it."

It is not a formal political change, it is basically the transference of power wholly to the masses of the revolution."

The fact that the revolution takes place not merely at the time of the revolution, i.e. "Zero Hour" as mentioned, was also dealt with. It was said "The actual accomplishment of the revolution at the Zero Hour is not the whole of the revolution, but only a part of its many parts, one of the steps, yet it is the decisive step." He added, "it is impossible to accomplish a real popular revolution unless its deep-rooted factors are gathered inside society and within the classes that will make the revolution".

Although the book mentioned at length that the 14th July revolution was the outcome of the many successive revolts and uprisings of the Iraqi people throughout the ages, and that it is not an isolated matter nor is it a Coup d'Etat, it failed to include the important stand of the patriotic parties before the 14th July and the part they played in bringing about the revolution. This shortcoming in the book was however previously mentioned by the author in the opening note.

On mentioning the People's Court, the author rendered the court the praise it is worthy of and said: "There is not an establishment in the revolutionary era, as the People's Court that expressed the essence of justice and the revolutionary concept."

As for the role the people would play in the revolution and the necessity to maintain it, Mr. Ibrahim highly evaluating said: "This 'Popular Up surge' by which miracles are made, that is the unity of the people and the government, the adherence of

the army to the people ... this can be justly considered the very essence of the revolution and the most valuable thing in it."

In face of the many planned attacks on the popular rallies on various occasion, and the allegation by the imperialists and their agents, the enemies of the revolution inside, that law and order were violated since the revolution due to these rallies, Mr. Ibrahim emphasised: "Baghdad had witnessed the greatest of these festivals and demonstrations, with its streets filled with masses of people, to the extent that the outskirts of the city was deserted from its inhabitation, yet no one reported an aggression and none complained a theft."

The pages allocated for describing the novelty of these festivities and demonstrations were the most lucid of the book.

Discussing concretely the nature of the revolution, Mr. Ibrahim said: "It is a National Liberation Revolution as it is anti-imperialist; progressive as it is anti-feudal; and Popular as it depends on the people and follows democracy."

In dealing with the forces of the revolution, Mr. Ibrahim, believing in the division of the society into classes, pointed out the necessity of realising the actual class-division, that the stand of each class would be defined, the point of agreements and those of contradictions, between the classes which constitute the people, and for whose benefit the revolution was actually made, would be marked.

This would make comparison possible with systems where one class forces its will on the rest of the revolutionary classes, under the pretext of a non-class society as the case in the UAR and the farse of its "National Union."

Further the acknowledgement of classes in society would lead to their granting their freedoms by the revolutionary government. Mr. Ibrahim divides these classes into: Workers, Peasants and Middle-class. He affirms that the workers and the peasants are the main and the solid forces of the revolution, and that a popular revolution would concentrate firstly on "raising the standard of living of the poor-peasants, and to make it equal to at least the lowest standard of others."

In dealing with the unsettled nature of the Bourgeoisie, which he calls the high rank of the Middle Class, he said that they have doubts and fears as to the granting of rights to the people. This fact, he said, would remain a source for the imperialist to penetrate through, yet the national forces should, on the contrary emphasise the points of agreement

Mr. Ibrahim did not deal with the true reasons

for this unstability of the bourgeoisie, that is its economical status of exploiting the workers and the peasants, hence comes in contradiction with them.

As for the enemies of the revolution, Mr. Ibrahim rightly stressed that we are not to think that everything is over once the revolution succeed. We are still in the start of the road. The main enemy is forces of world imperialism. "Imperialism", he said, "is the main obstacle in the road of national liberation and social progress. When it is fully abolished, its tails will follow suit, hence feudalism will be eliminated and the country will attain a higher position along the road of progress." As for the internal enemies he mentioned feudalism, the old machinery of power created by the imperialists to rule the country and the elements whose interests were linked up directly to those of imperialism, all of whom form a fifth column inside the country. They are not great in number, Mr. Ibrahim mentioned, yet they and the reactionary forces in our country and the outside world."

The correct scientific analysis of the enemies of the republic is one of the merits of the book, which is worthy of praise.

The meaning of the Gnided Democracy rule was then dwelt upon, and a mention that the rule of only the national bourgeoisie will not fulfil the whole aims of the revolution, was in this respect explained.

The unity of the national forces, Mr. Ibrahim said was the burning question of the moment, coming to the date of granting partis their legal rights. This he said is indispensable for the next duty of accomplishing the National United Front, which will include all the national forces supporting the revolution and rallying around the leadership of Premier Abdul Karim Qassim.

To further emphasised this, Mr. Ibrahim mentioned how imperialism and its local and foreign agents are concentrating most of all on harming the unity of the national forces and rapturing the national unity in general.

The essence of the anti-Communist campaign waged by the enemies of the republic was fully exposed by Mr. Ibrahim, and the true aims behind it were similarly revealed. "To combat freedom and democracy in the name of combatting Communism, is the only way to block the development of democracy and the development of Arab solidarity and solidarity with the peoples the world over aiming at consolidating freedom and peace in the whole world." Yet it is an old tune, to the ugliness of which none can dance....

The book dealt with many other important points including the importance of educating the masses as to how to utilise correctly the new democratic life open wide to them.

But Mr. Ibrahim did not mention, neither in the theoretical part nor in the practical part of his book, the fact that most of the bourgeois democratic revolutions have not as yet led to the transference of power to the main forces of the revolution,

## Execution of Traitors

NOTIFICATIONS of the Military Governor-General Numbered 116 and 117.

The first notification of the Military Governor-General mentioned that death sentences were passed on 4 civilian criminals and 13 criminals from among Army officers. This was announced in Notification No. 116. The followings are important extracts of Notification No. 117. "To the noble sons of the people.

"In pursuance to our Notification No. 116 dated September 19, 1959:

"1 — At four this morning (20th September, 1959) death by hanging was carried out at Baghdad Central Jail of the traitors and criminals, the civilians Said Qazzaz, Bahjat el-Attiah, Abdul Jabbar Fahmi and Abdul Jabar Ayoub who before the glorious Revolution had plotted against the safety of our country in co-operation with imperialism and those coveting our country.

"The execution by firing squad was also carried out at seven this morning (20th September, 1959) at Um el-Teboul shooting ground of those traitors from among the Army officers who were dismissed from the Army. They were:

"The retired Brigadier Nadhim al-Tabaqchali, Reserve Col. Mustafa Rifaat el-Haj Sirri, Col. Aziz Ahmad Shehab, Capt. Daud Sayid Khalil, Col. Khalil Salman, Maj. Towfiq Yahya Agha, Capt. Yahya Hussein el-Hamawi, Col. Ali Towfiq, Capt. Hashim el-Debuni, Lt. Hazim Khattab, Lt. Col. Ismail Hermiz, Maj. Majied el-Chalabi and Capt. Zakariya Yehya Taha. They had taken part and co-operated with the mutiny which was carried out by the traitor al-Shawaf against the safety and security of the Republic."

"The execution were carried out after the verdicts passed against all of them by the Special High Military Court received the assent of the Minister of Defence."

"We assure the citizens that the fate of these traitors will be the inevitable fate of plotters and agents who co-operate with the foreigners to endanger the safety and security of our dear Republic under the faithful son of the people, Maj.-Gen. Abdul Karim Qassim."

The Notification of His Excellency the Military Governor-General went on to list some name of those sentenced by the People's Court, but whom His Excellency the Premier found reasons for mercy, hence their sentences were commuted.

(See also Page 12).

or as called by Mr. Ibrahim "masses of the revolution", by which we particularly mean the peasants.

Last but not least, one must mention that in parts of the book some vague sentences were mentioned, the many sided explanation of which was possible, particularly in the introduction. We hope that these and others would be corrected and paid attention to in the next edition of the book.

\* Meaning of the Revolution by Abdul Fatah Ibrahim.



# The Fate of All Traitors

THE Notification of the Military Governor-General reflects the feelings of all the Iraqi people,

Baghdad witnessed at the morning of the 20th a joyful day, the people felt that a clique of their bitter enemies found the sentences they deserved.

Those executed about a month ago and the criminals executed shortly after the Shawaf plot were steps in the right direction. Traitors and enemies of the people had forced a long reign of terror and torture. Many of the best sons of the people found their tragic fate by the acts of these very four liars. It is only just that once the people attain their freedom and their patriotic government get hold of affairs, that executions and other heavy sentences should be passed on the traitors and other "civilians." It is only just that once the people attain Government, headed by Premier Abdul Karim Qasim had expressed that death is the fate of all plotters and agents, and that finally, the just step was taken as other proceedings steps were taken.

THE four "civilian" stooges of Nuri as-Said were in fact the most hated and the most cruel of the rest of the gang. Qazzaz many a time Minister of Interior in numerous cabinets, was the chief henchman of Nuri as-Said. When there is anything dirty that not many others are "willing" to do it Qazzaz was the first to volunteer.

Bahjat al-Attiah is the shadow of Qazzaz. He was the Chief of the Secret Police, besides his being a 'chief' of torture. Traditions did not find their way to the plans of "late" Attiah. Women and mothers were the dearest victims of his. No house stood close in the face of his agents not even in the late hours of the night. One would not exceed the fact to say that every family did suffer in this or that way from the country-wide branches of his Secret Police.

Abdul Gabbar Fehmi, was for some years the Chief of Baghdad Police, but later promoted to the post of Mutasarrif (Governor) of Baghdad. He was one of the main pillar of the rule of Nuri as-Said.

He was the "hero" to shoot at demonstrations. Yet such a hero would not leave a higher position passes him by, hence he participate "energetically" in shooting the armless political prisoners in the Baghdad Prison, when two other similar massacres were planned for other prisons.

Abdul Gabbar Ayoub; himself is not by any means a "personality" of the clique, yet there was always an obedient tool in the person of the Director of the Nuqrati el-Salman Prison, that is Abdul Gabbar Ayoub. The name of Nuqrati el-Salman is enough to remind any Arab, let alone any Iraqi of undreamt of horrors. Some 100 patriots of the political prisoners were left to languish there, in the desert. Many were killed during the massacres of prisons, the hero of which, here, is Abdul Gabbar Ayoub.

These four, and some others, were the 'Knights' of the "Anti-Communist Campaign" in the country. Their fingers even extended to some neighbouring Arab countries. Yet these are the four 'civilians', of the old regime. The Army retired officers were Tabaqchali: Brig. Nadhim al-Tabaqchali, the former commander of the Second Division—whose centre is in Kirkuk. He was the chief designer of the Mosul Plot. His alert mind suggested to him the necessity of postponing the said plot a fortnight to the date fixed by the 'masters'. Besides he is one of three men, of Abdul Salam Arif Pro-Nasser cell in the Army.

Sirri: Reserve Col. Mustafa Rifaat el-Haj Sirri, was Chief of the Military Intelligence Service. He was to play a main part in Baghdad, once the matter starts in the North (Mosul), unluckily though, he was not given enough 'chance' to perform the 'duties' accredited to him.

Shehab, Col. Aziz Ahmed Shehab acted as the special missionary between Tabaqchali and Gamal Abdul Nasser. He went to Syria to contact Abdul Hamid el-Sarraj, Minister of Interior of the (UAR) Syrian Region. No doubt Mr. Sarraj must have taught him how to arrange things.

Other officers were petty agents playing a secondary role in the Nasser imperialist plot.